

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-19

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AMEMBASSY SOFIA POUCH
AMEMBASSY LISBON POUCH
AMEMBASSY WARSAW POUCH
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE POUCH

S E C R E T VIENNA 9523

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PARM, NATO
SUBJECT: MBFR: SUMMARY REPORT FOR PERIOD ENDING 16 NOVEMBER 1973

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: IN THE WEEK OF NOVEMBER 11, ALLIED
REPRESENTATIVES AT THE VIENNA TALKS CONTINUED THE
DEVELOPMENT OF THEIR CONCEPTUAL POSITION AND GENERAL
PROPOSALS IN PLENARY SESSIONS. EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES
CONCENTRATED ON PRODDING THE WEST TO ADDRESS THE EASTERN PROPOSAL
OF NOV 8 OR MAKE SPECIFIC PROPOSALS OF THEIR OWN. THE EASTERN
EFFORT WAS ACCCOMPANIED BY AN INTENTIONAL LEAK TO THE PRESS ON NOV
15 OF MAIN ELEMENTS OF THE EASTERN PROPOSAL. THE AD HOC GROUP
CONSIDERED THAT THE LEAK WAS ADDRESSED MAINLY TO WESTERN
DOMESTIC OPINION AND CONCLUDED THAT IT INTENSIFIED NEED TO
TABLE ON ALLIED FRAMEWORK PROPOSAL SOON CONTAINING DETAILS
OF ALLIED PROPOSALS FOR FORCE REDUCTIONS. INITIAL PRESS COVERAGE
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OF THE LEAK ON NOV 16 WAS NOT EXTENSIVE, SO THAT THE GROUP
DECIDED TO WAIT UNTIL 19 NOVEMBER TO DECIDE WHETHER TO RESPOND
WITH A BACKGROUND BRIEFING CRITIQUING THE EASTERN POSITION.
ON 16 NOVEMBER THE GROUP AGREED ON AN OUTLINE OF A FRAMEWORK

PROPOSAL TO SEND TO NAC FOR APPROVAL. IN INFORMAL CONTACTS AS WELL AS IN PLENARY SPEECHES, DURING THE WEEK, EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES BEGAN TO CRITIQUE THE WESTERN CONCEPTS OF DISPARITIES, THE WESTERN OBJECTIVE OF A COMMON CEILING ON NATO AND WARSAW PACT GROUND FORCES IN THE REDUCTION AREA, AND THE FIRST PHASE FOCUS OF THE WESTERN APPROACH ON SOVIET AND US FORCES. END SUMMARY.

2. WESTERN PLENARY PRESENTATIONS. IN PLENARY SESSIONS ON 13 AND 15 NOVEMBER, THE WESTERN SIDE CONTINUED THE DEVELOPMENT OF ALLIED CONCEPTUAL APPROACHES TO THE MBFR NEGOTIATIONS, CHARACTERIZING THESE APPROACHES AS "GENERAL PROPOSALS" IN ORDER TO COUNTER PRESENCE OF AN EASTERN PROPOSAL ON THE TABLE. IN THE PLENARY OF 13 NOVEMBER, THE FRG REP (BEHREND) FURTHER ELABORATED ALLIED PROPOSALS THAT THE NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD FOCUS ON GROUND FORCES AND THAT THEIR OVERALL OBJECTIVE SHOULD BE A COMMON CEILING ON WARSAW PACT AND NATO FORCES IN THE REDUCTION AREA. THE US REP FOLLOWED IN THE SAME SESSION WITH A PRESENTATION ON ALLIED VIEWS THAT THE NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD BE IN TWO SEPARATE PHASES AND FOCUS ON US REDUCTION AND SOVIET GROUND FORCES IN THE FIRST PHASE OF NEGOTIATIONS. ON 15 NOVEMBER, THE CANADIAN REP (GRANDE) FURTHER DEVELOPED THE ALLIED CASE FOR ASSOCIATED MEASURES TO ACCOMPANY REDUCTIONS AND THE BELGIAN DEP REP (WILLOT) DISCUSSED THE NEED FOR ARRANGEMENTS TO VERIFY AGREEMENTS AND TO PROVIDE ASSURANCE THAT AGREEMENTS WILL NOT BE CIRCUMVENTED.

3. EASTERN PLENARY STATEMENTS. ON 13 NOVEMBER, THE POLISH REP (STRULAK) ZEROED IN ON THE WESTERN DISPARITIES ARGUMENTS, CLAIMING THAT THE WEST WAS DELIBERATELY AND IN ITS OWN INTEREST SELECTIVELY DEALING WITH THE MILITARY SITUATION IN CENTRAL EUROPE, AND THAT IF ALL ASPECTS OF THAT MILITARY SITUATION ARE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT, THERE ALREADY EXISTS A SATISFACTORY RELATIONSHIP OF FORCES. STRULAK WENT ON TO ARGUE THAT THE EASTERN PROPOSAL DOES JUST THAT, PROVIDING FOR REDUCTIONS OF COMPONENTS OF ALL FORCES IN THE REDUCTION ZONE. AS A COUNTERWEIGHT TO LAST WEEK'S PRESENTATION BY THE GREEK REP (DOUNTAS) ON UNDIMINISHED SECURITY FOR THE FLANK STATES, THE BULGARIAN REP (DICHEV)

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ON 13 NOVEMBER SPOKE BRIEFLY ON HOW THE EASTERN PROPOSAL WAS THE BEST WAY TO PROTECT THE INTERESTS OF ALL PARTIES. ON 15 NOVEMBER, THE EASTERN SIDE LEVELED ITS STRONGEST CRITICISM AT THE WESTERN SIDE TO DATE IN A SPEECH BY THE CZECH REP (KLEIN). KLEIN ACCOMPANIED FURTHER ELABORATION OF THE EASTERN PROPOSAL WITH CHARGES THAT THE WESTERN SIDE WAS AVOIDING A GENUINE DIALOGUE ON THE ISSUES BY IGNORING THE EASTERN PROPOSAL. HE SAID THAT THE WEST WAS UNJUSTLY ACCUSING THE EAST OF MAINTAINING AN OFFENSIVE MILITARY POSTURE. HE ASSERTED THAT THE WEST WAS TRYING TO INTRODUCE "NEW ELEMENTS" SUCH AS STABILIZATION MEASURES INTO THE TALKS WHICH "DO NOT CORRESPOND TO THE SPIRIT AND THE LETTER OF THE (FINAL) COMMUNIQUE (OF THE PREPARATORY TALKS)."

THE ROMANIAN REP (ANINIOU) ALSO SPOKE, TESTING THE WATER AGAIN FOR THE ROMANIAN SUGGESTION THAT THE CONFERENCE FORMALLY ANNOUNCE THAT OTHER INTERESTED COUNTRIES WILL BE KEPT INFORMED OF THE PROGRESS OF THE TALKS. ANINIOU ALSO REITERATED THE ROMANIAN POSITION THAT ALL INTERESTED STATES SHOULD BE ABLE TO PRESENT THEIR VIEWS DIRECTLY TO THE CONFERENCE.

4. EASTERN PRESS LEAK. THE MORE OR LESS ANTICIPATED LEAK OF THE EASTERN PROPOSAL OF NOV 8 CAME ON 15 NOVEMBER WHEN THE SOVIETS REVEALED THE MAIN ELEMENTS OF THE PROPOSAL THROUGH A TASS CORRESPONDENT. THE AD HOC GROUP DECIDED THAT IT WOULD BE BEST TO BASE THE WESTERN REACTION TO THE LEAK ON THE EXTENT OF THE PRESS COVERAGE THE LEAK RECEIVED, AND TO AVOID ACTION WHICH MIGHT DRAMATIZE IT. THE PRESS OF 16 NOVEMBER HAD ONLY LIGHT COVERAGE, AND SO THE GROUP DECIDED TO WAIT UNTIL 19 NOVEMBER TO DECIDE WHETHER TO HOLD A PRESS BACKGROUNDER TO RESPOND TO THE SOVIET POSITION. THE GROUP PREPARED TALKING NOTES FOR USE BY THE DUTCH REP (QUARLES) IF SUCH A BRIEFING SHOULD BE NECESSARY. ON 16 NOVEMBER, THE GROUP APPROVED A DRAFT OUTLINE PROPOSAL TO BE SENT TO THE NAC FOR APPROVAL, HOPEFULLY IN TIME FOR PRESENTATION ON NOV 22 AND IN ANY EVENT, NO LATER THAN THE WEEK OF 26 NOVEMBER.

5. DEVELOPMENT OF EASTERN LINE. DURING THE WEEK, THE EASTERN REPS PLAYED ON A NUMBER OF THEMES IN CONTACTS WITH WESTERN REPS. THEIR TACTICAL POSTURE WAS THAT THE WEST WAS PREVENTING THE DEVELOPMENT OF A REAL DIALOGUE BY NEITHER TABLING A PROPOSAL OF ITS OWN NOR

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ADDRESSING DIRECTLY THE EASTERN PROPOSAL. BEYOND THAT, THE EASTERN REPS STRESSED THE UNDESIRABILITY OF THE COMMON CEILING OBJECTIVE AND ARGUED THAT WESTERN ADVANTAGES IN NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND AIR POWER HAD TO BE ADDRESSED. THEY DISPUTED WESTERN ARGUMENTS FOR LIMITING THE FIRST PHASE OF REDUCTIONS TO US AND SOVIET GROUND FORCES, ARGUING THAT IT WAS IMPORTANT TO THE EASTERN SIDE THAT THE BUNDESWEHR AND BRITISH FORCES ALSO BE INCLUDED. THEY ADDED THAT THE POLES AND EAST GERMANS WOULD ALSO LIKE TO PARTICIPATE IN REDUCTIONS, AND THAT THEREFORE, BOTH FOREIGN AND NATIONAL FORCES SHOULD BE INCLUDED IN ALL REDUCTION PHASES. THE EASTERN REPS ARGUED THAT ANY REDUCTION PLAN WOULD HAVE TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE FACT THAT WESTERN FORCES, PARTICULARLY THE BUNDESWEHR, EMPLOY LARGE NUMBERS OF CIVILIANS FOR SUPPORT PURPOSES WHEREAS EASTERN FORCES EMPLOYED SOLDIERS IN LARGE PART FOR SUCH JOBS. THE EASTERN REPS WERE GENERALLY UNWILLING, HOWEVER, TO DISCUSS DATA, AND SEEMED TO BE SOMEWHAT FUZZY ON JUST HOW A REDUCTION BASE WOULD BE DETERMINED.

6. ASSESSMENT: AS EVIDENCED BY THEIR MORE DIRECT CRITIQUE OF VARIOUS ASPECTS OF THE WESTERN POSITION, THE EASTERN REPS RECOGNIZE THAT THE SHAPE OF THE WESTERN PROPOSAL IS EMERGING IN THE WESTERN PLENARY PRESENTATIONS, THEY NONETHELESS CAN

BE EXPECTED TO KEEP UP THE PRESSURE FOR THE WEST EITHER TO TABLE A FORMAL PROPOSAL OR TO ADDRESS THE EASTERN PROPOSAL. THE EAST MAY LEAK FURTHER DETAILS OF THEIR NOV 8 PROPOSAL IN ORDER TO INCREASE THE PRESSURE. DESPITE THE SOMEWHAT HARDER LINE OF THE CZECH PLENARY STATEMENT ON 15 NOVEMBER, THE ATMOSPHERE OF THE TALKS REMAINS GOOD, ALTHOUGH FURTHER LEAKING OF THE EASTERN PROPOSAL REQUIRING A WESTERN RESPONSE WOULD NOT BE HELPFUL.HUMES

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